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to bring to the court their family difficulties as they brought them to the governor under the old regime. Problems of rape and illegitimacy, which did not figure under the system of polygyny, are beginning to appear. These and other major offenses are dealt with by the Federal courts. 178 692 [839 848]

Under the Indian Reorganization Act, the Indian courts will have jurisdiction over a definite number of offenses punishable under American law. The transition to a code of morals consonant with that of the individualistic and property conscious society around them should proceed rapidly and the rate and manner of adaptation in the different departments of morals will furnish an illuminating study.

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ceedingly afraid of it and the woman helper wrapped it so that they would not see it. Then they picked it up with sticks and dropped it into the hole. 844

After the birth, mother and child remained in the segregation hut for a month. The mother must eat no salt until the end of the umbilical cord fell off, or the child's navel would get sore. The best food for her was gruel of cactus seeds or mesquite beans, which was thought to make her strong. She must not wash for the whole month or she would have rheumatism. According to one informant, her husband at this time used separate dishes which at other times were kept outside the house (26). The wife in the segregation hut used the same dishes she had at menstruation. 846

"When the moon had come back to the same place", she and the husband and child went through a purification ceremony. They went at dawn to a shaman who made a specialty of this ceremony and of child naming. He drew a circle on the ground and placed the mother in it with her back to the east. She held the child. The father, according to some informants, sat in the circle with her (26), according to others, on a cross marked to the south of the circle (1), or simply on the ground outside. 846 783

The shaman kept a special kind of yellow clay found mostly in Sonora. He scraped a little from the dried ball in which it was kept; mixed it with water and pounded owl's feathers and stirred it with an owl's feather. He "cleansed" the parents by dusting them off with his shaman's plumes. Then, carrying the bowl of clay and singing, he walked back and forth four times, from west to east, toward the mother and the rising sun (26), or around the circle (1). Then he had both parents and child drink from the bowl, the order varying, according to different informants. If the baby would not drink, the shaman drank a little and spat it into the baby's mouth. Then he gave the child a name which had no connection with the parents or their families, but referred to something he had dreamed. Such names were often poetic, as Boiling Wind, Hawk over Water, Dawn Singing. [553]

The woman was now considered cleansed and might go back to the family home with the baby. The shaman was paid a basket or some food.

The omission of the ceremony would make both parents and child sick. An unmarried mother must hold it, but without the father. A divorced woman went through it with the baby, while her husband went through it separately. If a woman went through it with her husband, when he was not the baby's father, the husband might die. [753] [848]

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847 If the baby died and the woman wanted another, she buried it near the surface. If she wanted no more, she buried it deep. Women [848] professed to know nothing about means of abortion saying that there was little need for them, since an unmarried mother suffered no stigma. Deformed babies and those born by "light women" who did not want the burden were dropped in an arroyo to die of [843] exposure. It was considered that a woman who had a husband and did not bear children would soon die herself of the unnatural condition.

845 Twins were considered to be born shamans. People regarded 756 both them and their parents with some awe, since whatever they said would come true. Thus, if they said a certain person would die, he would: if they called him ugly, swollen, lame, he would become so. Therefore everybody made offerings to twins (the word used is the same as that for offerings made at a shrine). Their parents did the same. Anyone who rebuked a twin suffered. One informant slapped the cheek of a twin who annoyed her while gambling and immediately her arm swelled. She went to the twin for relief, bringing a gift. The child wet her fingertips in her mouth and touched the arm which immediately healed.

This power of twins did not persist beyond childhood unless they had dreams and became shamans in the regular way. However, they usually did so and were much more likely to dream than the average person. If one twin died, the other died also.

CHILDHOOD

[862] Babies were nursed until they were two and three years old. 753 One informant said, "My babies died. It was because they came 853 too fast. When there was a new one coming, there was not milk for the old one" (26). The cause of most infant complaints was supposed to be the fact that the fontanelle did not close properly. A shaman or an old women who had dream power inserted a finger in the child's mouth and pushed on the palate. This was thought to push up the [757] whole top of the head and close the fontanelle. Diarrhoea was treated with the vapor of canyon ragweed. The leaves were wet and a hot cloth laid over them, then the infant was set on the cloth in the vapor. Children's fevers were thought to be due to the hot breath of a dog. They and other diseases were treated in the regular way by the shaman.

854 The child was carried on the cradleboard until it was able to walk. Mothers, on their long expeditions to fetch food and water, placed the cradleboard on top of the other contents of the carrying basket and while they worked, stood it against a tree. When the

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582 591

teasing, but it is usually good-natured, and in time she may adopt the new way of speech.

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There is no elaborate wedding ceremony among the Papago. The old practice of the groom spending four nights with his bride in her home before taking her to their permanent dwelling has fallen out of use. Nowadays, under increasing white pressure, some couples in the eastern districts are married in a Roman Catholic or Presbyterian church, but in the western part of the Reservation such ceremonies are rare. Most marriages in the West and some in the East involve no ceremony and require only public recognition of an understanding between the individuals concerned and their families. The recently approved tribal code of laws (see chap. vii) requires a marriage license, a ceremony performed by a religious or other duly constituted official, and a certificate of marriage.

836 848

There are many sex relations outside marriage, which may evoke gossip or criticism but do not cause the social ostracism of either party. Children of casual relationships are to be seen in many homes. If the mother is unmarried, she cares for such children in her own household; when she marries, she may take them with her to the new home or leave them behind to be cared for by her parents. No stigma is attached to these children, and criticism of their parents comes from the clergy and the more ardent church members.

591

Residence of newly married couples is usually patrilocal. They may live in the same house with the groom's parents—in which case they often have a room of their own—or they may build a new home close by. If the groom's family is large and no more workers are needed to make a living for the group, the couple may break away, fence in a new field, and establish their own household. Although the new dwelling is usually close to the houses of the groom's father and brothers and everyone works together when necessary, the son's household is distinct from his father's and is more nearly like that of the average white family. Nowadays the trend is toward greater independence of young families. They frequently go for long or short periods to places where there is employment, but the husband's father's house is always home.

This is the prevailing pattern, but in the characteristically flexible Papago society the new couple may live with the wife's parents for some practical reason. Possibly there are more adults in the groom's household than in the bride's, and the help of the new couple is more valuable in her home. Perhaps the girl has no brothers to help with the crops or the cattle, or her brothers have left the Reservation. Whatever the reason for a man's joining his wife's family he assumes the responsibilities and status of a son, and the functioning of the household is not upset.

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it is the short distance to a neighboring house cluster, and then she is always in full sight of her relatives all the way. Even in twos or threes girls are forbidden to walk about the desert or to loiter where men are working. 562

In the old days marriages were arranged by families, and young people had little voice in the selection of partners. The concept of romantic love has been introduced by white schools, movies, and magazines, and today there is much more freedom of choice. But, as a rule, Papago girls and boys are still circumspect in public. Though adolescents do not play together at school, they have more opportunities there for talking together and flirting than at home. Eleven- and twelve-year-old boys tease the girls, trip them up, or take their books. Older lads are more likely to start a disturbance to gain the attention and admiration of some particular girl; they are seldom disappointed. On the other hand, some of the girls quite openly seek to attract masculine attention by slight misbehavior in the classroom, and they often linger on the playground to watch the boys' ball games, a delicate attention which is not unappreciated. 584 883 [177]

At fiestas a boy will dance oftener with the girl of his choice than with the other girls. Sometimes they escape into the darkness away from the dance ground for lovemaking. 883 836 527

How much sexual promiscuity takes place is difficult to determine, for the Papago are conscious that their standards differ from those of whites, and they do not talk freely on the subject. Sex affairs that are intended to result in marriage do not seem merely promiscuous to the Papago, and many "Indian-custom" marriages begin in just this way, often in the cotton fields, where chaperonage is difficult to maintain. For sex relations that are not a prelude to marriage, boys are seldom censured, but girls are blamed for "going off in the bushes." However, the girl seems to be less severely criticized if she gives birth to an illegitimate child; neither the child nor its mother suffers social stigma, and the situation seems not to affect the girl's chances for marriage. 836 [848]

The boy who wishes to pay formal court to a girl will find excuses to visit her home, ostensibly to see a male member of the family. Everyone knows why he is there and takes great, though courteously veiled, interest in the progress of the courtship. The girl can discourage her suitor by disappearing on the pretext of having a task to do elsewhere. If she likes the boy, she will remain in the room while he is in the house; eventually he will find a way to propose, and they will announce to their parents that they intend to marry. They begin living together at once or soon afterward—usually in the household of the groom—and, whether or not a wedding ceremony is performed, are thenceforth regarded as man and wife. They have taken their places in the world of adults. 584 585

657 There are five welfare categories, Old Age Assistance, Aid to Dependent Children, Aid to the Blind (all administered by the state welfare office), Child Welfare and General Assistance (administered by the Bureau of Indian Affairs). In addition, everyone eligible for assistance in the above categories, plus those of minimum income, are eligible for surplus food under the Surplus Commodities Program (a state agency).

162 By 1962, according to Jones, the number of reservation welfare cases
657 had jumped from 448 to 536, not counting an estimated fifteen children receiving Child Welfare benefits and 170 heads of households receiving surplus food. Counting dependents this means that more than 1800 residents out of a total of about 5000 on the three Papago reservations are receiving some assistance, directly or indirectly, from welfare programs.

162 Welfare statistics pertaining to the Papago reservations are given in
657 Table 27. Trends for fiscal years 1958 through 1962 indicate a gradual increase
178 in Aid to Dependent Children cases. This has been noted also for the non-Indian
[115] population as a whole. An opinion with respect to the reason for this was provided by Pima County welfare officials. More women and children tend to return to the
[586] reservation, or remain there. More women are finding out about ADC grants. In addition, there is a national increase, as well as a local increase, in divorce.
[848] There is also an increase in illegitimacy. The primary cause for the condition that makes a woman and her children eligible for A.D.C., however, is the death,
[164] disability or desertion of the father. On the reservations death claims 25% of
[165] such cases, disability 22%, and desertion about 19% of the total.
[586]

162 Given the nature of Papago family economy, the results of a comparison
171 with the non-Indian population of Pima County are not particularly surprising.
657 For 1961 the non-Indian population of the county was estimated to be 48 times as large as the reservation Indian population. Using the population ratio of 1 to 48